1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

it be perhaps, to help gather and to help carry home the corn. All the sewing is done by the men, even of the little shirts or jackets worn by the women. In carrying loads, the women rival the men in power and endurance. It is nothing uncommon to see a woman, with a big load on her back, and her year old baby seated on top, with his little legs dangling over the front edge of the load. The little monkeys ride securely there through the bush and dodge the overhanging vines and branches as expertly as could be done by an old horseman. When working for each other the people use their own machetes and axes, as a matter of course; but when hired by a foreigner, they invariably expect to be furnished with tools by their employer. 462 482 464

Domestic industry is at the very lowest ebb. Manufactures can hardly be said to exist. The only articles made, beyond furniture, arms &c., are hammocks, net bags, cotton cloth, and pottery. All of these are coarse and inferior in quality. None of the skill exhibited by the Guatemalan Indians exists here. The hammocks are made of a coarse twine, derived from the leaves of a species of *agave*, and are loosely woven in a frame with a needle. They are hardly long enough for an ordinary person to lie at length in them with comfort, and are used more for seats than for sleeping. They are swung between the posts of the house, near the door, and at a height of from a foot to a foot and a half from the floor. Everything is carried in net bags. They are made with a needle of bone and "meshed" like our fish nets. Some of them are very fine and they are of all sizes, from three inches to two feet deep. They are suspended by a string made of the same material, usually an inch wide and woven openly, in the same manner as the hammocks. The material of the finer and ordinary bags is the fibre of a species of aloe, or *agave*, much finer than that used for hammocks, and naturally nearly white. It is usually dyed of various colors to suit the fancy of the maker. The colors are obtained from several of the native plants and are very durable. A coarser kind is made of the same fibre as the hammocks. These are made with larger meshes, and are used to carry plantains, corn &c., from the field to the house. 28 32 286 [513] [386] [482]

The people of Tirlid procure all their bags from the Bri-bris, and I believe, their hammocks also. The Valientes, living beyond the Tiribis, in the adjoining parts of the District of Chiriqui, make similar bags, but much finer and more elaborately wrought. The colors in the Bri-bri nets are always arranged in simple bands, while the patterns of the Valiente nets are often complicated and exhibit considerable taste. 438 531

Belts, breech-cloths, cloths for wrapping the bones of the dead, and women's petticoats are woven of cotton. The cotton is raised with no care beyond planting a few seeds and allowing the plants to take care of themselves. They grow to the height of ten or twelve feet, and almost every house has a few in its vicinity. The yellow flowers, buds, and open bolls are seen all the year round, together on every tree. The women collect the ripe cotton, pick it from the seeds with their fingers and spin 286 [248] [283]

&c.

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

286 it. The loom is a simple frame of four sticks, the two upright ones are planted in the ground; the other two rudely tied to these. The warp is wrapped around the two horizontal bars and a simple contrivance of threads is arranged to open and reverse it. The thread for the woof wound on slender sticks is then passed through in the usual manner and driven tight by blows of a smooth stick. The process is exceedingly slow [462] and tedious and I have never seen it performed except by the men. The belts are usually two to three inches wide and four or five feet long. [291] Breech-cloths are about four feet long and a little more than a foot wide. The cloths for the dead and the women's petticoats are wider and a trifle longer. Except the cloths for the dead, which are woven white and afterwards painted, most of this cotton work is ornamented with colors. Be- [386] sides native vegetable dyes, the people of Bri-bri buy cotton dyed a dirty purple with the blood of the *murex*. This is procured from the people of [438] Terraba on the Pacific. They also now occasionally buy colored threads of foreign production, especially a rich bluish purple, of which they are particularly fond. All of this weaving is with very coarse thread, nearly as thick as the finer twines used by shopkeepers in the United States for tying small packages. The cloth is consequently coarse in texture and rough in appearance, but closely woven and soft to the feel. It makes excellent towels, though rather heavy for that purpose. The largest piece of work of this kind I ever saw, was a blanket large enough to cover a good sized double bed. It was in possession of an old woman who wanted to sell it to me for a cow, and refused ten dollars cash.

The pottery now made is the coarsest and poorest I have ever seen. 323 None of the finely made and elaborately ornamented vessels found in the 415 *huacas* or graves are made at present. The use, for half a century or more, of foreign cast-iron pots and kettles has restricted this industry, and possibly helped to injure the character of the work. But two or three vessels taken by me from Tiribi graves, certainly not less than fifty or sixty years old, are in no respect superior to those made at the present day. Native earthenware is now only used for receptacles for chicha. The jars are large—say from ten to twenty gallons capacity. The form is very simple, the workmanship is rough, the clay is coarse and badly mixed, the burning is almost always imperfect, and they are always without the slightest attempt at ornament. The jars are moulded by hand, the clay being added spirally, and moulded by the fingers and trimmed with a smooth stick, in exactly the same manner as I have seen done by the negro women in Santo Domingo. After a certain amount of drying, they are burnt in the open air, in a fire of sticks heaped over them. Each jar is burnt separately.

Although not given to unnecessary exertion, these people travel occa- 484 sionally from house to house, and even make journeys to Terraba and Limon. The laziest will gladly walk for two days to a dance. They also occasionally go off into the less frequented regions to collect sarsaparilla, with which to buy whatever of foreign manufacture they may want, like

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

When collected it looks like milk. It is caused to congulate and turn black by the juice of a species of convolvulus. It is generally made into cakes a little over a foot long, about eight inches wide and an inch thick. 222 314 439

It is with these two articles, and an occasional deer skin, that all the purchases are made from the traders. They buy various kinds of cotton cloth for clothing, colored handkerchiefs, needles, thread, machetes, axes, knives, iron kettles and pots, a few medicines, and powder, shot, and caps. Their intertribal trade is still more limited. The Bri-bris sell net-bags and hammocks to the Tiribis, and formerly made the large cotton blankets, already described, for sale in Terraba. They buy in Terraba cows and dogs, murex-shell whistles, murex-dyed cotton, and beads made by rubbing down a small species of shell of the genus *Conus*. Sometimes both the Bri-bris and Cabecars, but especially the latter, carry sarsaparilla or rubber a hard ten-days' journey to Matina, to exchange it for cocoa, of which they might have enough and to spare for the mere trouble of planting it. But Indians are, almost without exception, a lazy, miserable, and unimprovable race. 439 438

It is perhaps advisable to state that the whole of the present memoir was written in Costa Rica, and it was not until my return to Philadelphia, that I encountered the elaborate compilation of Bancroft, on "the Native Races of the Pacific States." At the date of the present writing, but three volumes of the promised five have made their appearance. While I regret that the information in that work, on the present field is so meagre, and in some respects so different from my own observations, I have said nothing which I wish either to retract or modify. I state nothing but what I have seen and learned while living among the people whom I describe. At the same time I trust that I may not be accused of a spirit of antagonism, in pointing out some of the more serious errors in the work in question, and which, if not corrected, might seriously mislead future students. 114

Vol I, Chapter VII. p. 694, *et seq.* is devoted to "the wild tribes of Central America," and the Indians living below Lake Nicaragua, and the San Juan River are here designated as Isthmians; an appropriate name, since the family seems to cover all of Costa Rica and most, if not all of the State of Panama. But the map, facing p. 687 is utterly incorrect in so far, at least, as it professes to give the distribution of the Indians of Costa Rica.

The region of Talamanca described by me, as containing the three tribes of Cabecars, Bri-bris, and Tiribis, and known to the Spaniards under the generic term of Blancos, is here given up to the Vallentes, who should be placed to the south and south-east of the Chiriqui lagoon; and the Ilamas, who live in Nicaragua, back of the Mosquito coast. The central plateau, in which are situated the cities and towns of Atenas, San Ramon, Alajuela, Heredia, San José, Cartago, &c., in short, that occupied by practically the entire Hispano-American population of Costa Rica, is here given to the Blancos, and on the shores of the Gulf of

623 [625] pendent to a certain extent upon what remains of the former all-powerful council. The council is composed of the four or six oldest men, and they approve or disapprove of the police appointment. If they disapprove, a new agent has to be named. Formerly this group selected the *cabildo*, but this has disappeared today. The chief duty of the council is to 624 select the first and second mayordomos of the church, and the two women who are to cook for the church. These personages function during *fiestas* or the visits of the priest, and are appointed yearly. If there is a change in the personnel, the former mayordomo has to hand over all the religious symbols and whatever money there may be to the new one.

437 426 **Exchange and Distribution of Goods.** The *Boruca* amongst themselves are in the habit of exchanging foodstuffs. If a family lacks a certain commodity, for example corn, a transaction can be made with another party on the strength of a promise to return the item at the next harvest. The personal word of one Indian to another is very respected.

438 175 Salt (see pp. 8–9) was formerly an item of trade with the neighboring *Térraba*, *Cabécares*, and *Bribri*, who inhabit the areas farther inland, as well as with more distant *Talamancan* peoples. Reports of Boruca trade with salt as the chief article of commerce exist from as early as 1697. In that year, two priests, Francisco de San Joseph and Pablo de Rebullida, from the *Talamancan* missions, wrote:

> . . . . these (Indians) bargain with the Borucan and Terraban (Térrabas), they give them cotton "mantas" (skirts) painted which serve as covers on tables and curtains, and the Borucas give them salt, axes, machetes, dogs, and other things."

[continued top of page 24-B]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

771 The *Boruca* are professed Roman Catholics. The priest visits the community about twice yearly, and baptizes, marries, and confirms all at once. Very little vestige of old beliefs remains, and those that do, are generally well disguised with a covering of Catholicism. 796 On the day of St. John the Baptist, the *Boruca* go at midnight to the creek which runs through the town and bathe. December

[continued bottom of page 24-B]

"See Inf. Cons., 1697.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

Pittier[39] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *muntas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *munta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*.

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*–2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of

[39] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

[p. 24-B]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear.

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * *

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy.

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[p. 21 (B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

482 (fig. 9, *d*). *Hevas* fastened to the tumpline are also used by both sexes to carry cargo.

487 [137] [438] **Roads.** The forest of southern Costa Rica is among the densest in the world. Trails, however, have been kept open since pre-Columbian times when trade was common between the Pacific and Caribbean sides (*see* Trade). Even today, one passes through cleared tunnels under the matted roots of trees and shrubs which, according to tradition, are the same passages "used by all our grandfathers." Of the three trails which cross the range (*see* Geography), that connecting the Lari region with 491 Cabagra is famous for its hammock bridges made of vines which span chasms and swift-flowing, boulder-ridden rivers. These bridges are also known in upper Chirripó. They are [193] called in Bribri *t'sá* which is the same word used for hammock, vine, bridge, and string. The vines are woven netlike to form one or two sides. The first type can be either a single net, the person crossing sideways as a crab, or it is placed as a railing along a log. To make the second style, two stout vines are swung across the space to be bridged and fastened securely on both sides. A narrow foot path of braided vines is tied to these so as to form a *V*, and the sides are laced in a large V-shape, or netlike, to the braided portion (fig. 11, *a*). These hammock bridges are remade every six months by the men from the nearest houses.

MANUFACTURES

283 [824] [172] [462] One of the most important fibers comes from *pita* (*Agave* sp.). The presence of this plant in the forest is a sign, like the *pejibayes*, of a former habitation site. *Pita* is made into thread to tie arrows, carrying nets, etc. Both men and women prepare this fiber, although it is generally the women's task. The leaf is cut, peeled, and both ends chopped off to even the length. Every five inches the leaf is folded to soften it, and then it is put on a log and scraped with the blunt edge of a machete from the top to the bottom. At the bottom end, the woman pulls the remaining outer fibers off and ties the two ends of the leaf

[438] Pittier, 1938, p. 13.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, [513] hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testi* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made [227] from the same material and in the same technique.

601 tachiwa — Mo Fa Fa
Fa Fa Fa
So So
So Da
Da So
Da Da

milkuwa — Fa Mo Mo
Mo Mo Mo

423 **Land Tenure.** We have already noted that villages in the European sense are foreign to the Talamancans. The clan has a given area [614] for the use of their members. This involves a [241] river or creek (*see* Villages). The individual family plants in a different spot yearly within this territory (*see* Farming and Cultivated Foods). The Cabécares of the Pacific slope have begun to recognize land property. In [351] Ujarrás, fences are seen around vegetable and house gardens. The Bribri, however, have only demonstrated such tendencies in the vicinity of the school.

428 **Property.** The property understood as individual and which can be handed down at death [422] pertains to personal effects and the house. [423] When a man dies his property goes to his brothers and sisters. If he has a mother they go to his mother. When she dies they go to whomever she wants to leave them, a son, [178] daughter, etc. Today, however, everything [429] goes to the children—not to the wife. The wife remains as guardian for the children. When a man dies without leaving an adult son, his head wife receives everything, but she is obli- [736] gated to take care of the other wives until they remarry. The eldest son receives the greater portion, but all children have a share.

443 **Trade.** Markets were and are unknown among the Talamancan peoples. Trade was accomplished by itinerant groups or in areas set aside for this purpose. Products of the sea, 438 such as salt and *chaquira*, shell beads which [436] served as a medium of exchange, were important items in pre-Columbian times. Also in demand were gold, wild pigs, slaves, and cotton cloth.[149]

Certain vestiges of this custom remain. In [437] fact, in the remote areas, and even in Salitre and Ujarrás, articles are often traded and

[149] *See*, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. V.

438 money saved for dealings with non-Indians.
[437] A favorite commodity for exchange, especially with the Cabécares, is the wild pig. Contrary to the ordinary domesticated hog, they are
[231] trained to follow like a dog, sleep under the hammocks or at a person's side, and fulfill the function of a pet with the children. These pigs are fattened for a given feast, for instance bone burial, or are interchanged for salt and woven mantas (fig. 10, *c*) with the Borucas. Other articles still traded by the Talamancans with the Borucas and Térrabas on the Pacific slope are net bags and hammocks, both specialties of the Bribri, mastate and wax from the wild bee.

436 **Economy.** Money is still not too important among these people. On the Caribbean side,
464 where contact with non-Indians is less constant
[177] than in the Pacific region, the oil drillers have attempted to employ Talamancan laborers on the road gang. Although willing enough workers, they are not permanent, returning to their homes after a week or two. In fact, the usual rate of inquiries for jobs is on the average of one a month. In contrast, from 100 to 150
439 Indians appear weekly on the oil company's road carrying food for sale at the camps.

[text continues top of P. 41(B)—Quelnes]

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

756 **The Medicine Man.** To understand the non-material culture of the Talamanca peoples it is of utmost importance to comprehend the function of the medicine man or *jawá* (fig. 11, *c–d*). He is the key to the cure of the body and in a lesser degree of the spirit of the Bribri and the Cabécar. In former times, he appears
[554] to have been below the *usegLa* in rank and power (*see* Social Organization). Today, how-
756 ever, his importance not only among the Cabé-
177 cares and the Bribri but also the Chiricanos and many non-Indian Costa Ricans cannot be understated. There are numerous cases of
[743] people leaving centers where hospital facilities are available, such as Golfito, Palmar Sur, Puerto Cortes, and San Isidro del General, to travel over rugged trails to Salitre to consult
[484] Indian medicine men in Ujarrás when the

[text continues bottom of P. 41(B)—Quelnes]

[435] [148] In 1959: ₡6.63 made a dollar.
[149] Usually 100 pounds.